

Turcology and Linguistics

Éva Ágnes Csató
Festschrift

Edited by
Nurettin Demir
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A comparative study of two evening prayers written in Karaim

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Introduction

Éva Ágnes Csató Johanson has devoted a great many years to the major task of revitalizing the North-Western variety of Karaim. She has also achieved a great deal in the documentation process for the spoken language of the Western Karaim varieties. I enjoyed the good fortune of participating in the Karaim Language Summer School organized by Professor Csató in conjunction with the Karaim communities on several occasions. Furthermore, under her supervision, I completed my doctoral dissertation on an Old Testament translation into South-Western Karaim in 2012. With this short paper, in which two Karaim versions of an evening prayer are presented and compared, I would like to express my gratitude to her.

First, the two versions in question will be discussed. One of them, written in the North-Western Karaim variety, has already been published; the other has never been edited before. Therefore, by means of a phonetic, morphological and lexical analysis, I will classify the language of the prayer. The text and the translations of the North-Western Karaim version, the transliteration and the transcription as well as the translation of the other Karaim prayer are provided in the Appendix.

1. The North-Western Karaim evening prayer

Mykolas Firkovičius published an evening prayer written in the North-Western variety of Karaim in his book *Karaj koltchalary* (1993: 16). The prayer occurs under the title *Jukuha jatmach koltchasy* ‘Prayer of going to sleep’ (see Appendix 1 below). We know little about the original. In the table of contents (*Baş adlary*), the prayer is marked as ÉKJ (i.e. *Éski Kol Jazyšlary*), which means it is found in an old manuscript (Firkovičius 1993: 4, 126). Firkovičius, however, has not supplied any details on the ‘old manuscripts’ he used to compile the book.

2. Another Karaim evening prayer: the manuscript

Another evening prayer occurs in a Hebrew prayer book as an insertion. The book is in rather bad condition. Its width is ca. 10 cm, and it is ca. 14 cm long. The text is intended to be vocalised. Based on the characteristics of the Karaim text, it can be assumed that it is written in a South-Western variety of Karaim. In the following, toward a classification of the written text, I describe its particular characteristic features, including its phonetic, morphological and lexical properties.

2.1 Characteristics of the script

The Hebrew prayer book in which the evening prayer in question occurs contains four, so far unpublished Karaim texts. Three of the texts – including the evening prayer, i.e. PR1, PR2 and PR3 – show similarities in their general appearance and in the forms of the letters used. The fourth text (PR4), however, differs from the rest, for instance in the writing of the letter *lāmed* and of the word-final *nūn*.¹

The written form of *lāmed* and word-final *nūn* in the manuscripts published by Grzegorzewski (1903 and 1917), Firkovičius (2000), Németh (2011b) and Olach (2012: 437) is not the same as the forms of the letters used in manuscripts PR1, PR2 and PR3 in the Hebrew prayer book. This leads one to presume that the three insertions come from the same author or copyist, who is not identical with the author/copyist of the other previously published manuscripts.

In the following, I focus on the manuscript of the evening prayer (PR2). In order to demonstrate the distribution of each Hebrew letter, I used a detailed transliteration of the manuscript. The transliteration of every letter is provided in brackets in the sections *Vowels* and *Consonants* below.

Vowels

The vowel *a* is written with a *pātaḥ* (*a*¹ in the transliteration) or with a *qāmeṣ* (*a*² in the transliteration). The letter *pātaḥ* occurs occasionally: in the ablative suffix in *y¹a²n^yimda¹n* = *yanīmdan* ‘from my side’, in the second syllable in *s¹a²k²la¹g¹a¹y¹* = *saklagay* ‘may he protect’, in the dative suffix in *dun^ya²g¹a¹de²y²in* = *dunyaḡadeyin* ‘forever’ and in the first syllable of *ma¹h²t¹a²b¹ludur* = *maḡtawlwudur* ‘glorious’. Elsewhere, the letter *qāmeṣ* is used, e.g. *b¹a²r* = *bar* ‘all’. The letter *hāṭēp̄ pātaḥ* (*a*³) occurs twice: *a³rk²a²mda²n* = *arkamdan* ‘behind me’ and *h¹a³ṗide²n* = *haliden* ‘from now’. In final position, the combination of *qāmeṣ* and ‘āleṗ (*a*^a) is always used, e.g. *ma²n^aa²* = *mana* ‘to me’.²

The letters *šērē* and *sāḡōl* signify the vowel *e*. The letter *šērē* (*e*²) is used in the names of the angels (e.g. *m^yik¹a²e²l* = *mika’el* ‘Michael’, *g¹a²b¹r^yi’e²l* = *gabriel* ‘Gabriel’ and *ur^yi’e²l* = *uri’el* ‘Uriel’) and in the words *k²e²ṗib¹yimn^yi* = *keliwimni* ‘my arrival (ACC)’, *h¹a³ṗide²n* = *haliden* ‘from now’ and *dun^ya²g¹a¹de²y²in* = *dunyaḡadeyin* ‘forever’. The letter *sāḡōl* (*e*¹) is found in the name of Raphael (*rəp¹a²e¹l* = *rəpa’el*), in the word *t¹e¹nr^yin^yin* = *tenrinin* ‘God (GEN)’ and in the personal pronoun *me¹n^yi* = *meni* ‘me (ACC)’. In final position, the vowel *e* only occurs once in the text (*t¹yirṗik²k²e¹* = *tirlikke* ‘to life’), where *sāḡōl* is followed by

¹ The prayers have been numbered by the author of the present study following their occurrence in the Hebrew prayer book.

² Except in the reference to the Lord with *ha*, which is always written as ה, i.e. without an ‘āleṗ. Cf. this prayer with the Halich Karaim biblical translations, where the combination of *pātaḥ* and ‘āleṗ is also used, but only in medial position (Olach 2012: 38–44).

‘*ālep*. The combination of *sāgōl* and *yōd* (^y*e*^l) is attested in the word *k^{ly}e^lrt^{ly}i* = *kerti* ‘true’, while there is no example of *šērē* with *yōd* in the manuscript.

Both *hîreq* and the combination of *hîreq* and *yōd* are used in the manuscript to signify the vowel /i/. However, *hîreq* (*i*) only occurs in the first syllable in the word *cih^{2y}is^{ly}imn^yi* = *cīχīsīmni* ‘my leaving (ACC)’; elsewhere, the combination with *yōd* (^y*i*) is used in syllables with both back and front vowels, e.g. *y²is²t^{ly}in(e)* = *istine* ‘on’ and *c²a²n^yimn^yi* = *dzanimni* ‘my soul (ACC)’.

The vowel *o* is always written with the letter combination *hōlem* + *wāw* (*o*); likewise, the vowel *u* is written with a *wāw* and a dot in it, i.e. with a *šûreq* (*u*).³

Certain Hebrew letters, such as *hāṭēp* *pāṭah* (*a*³) and *šawā* (*a*), typically occur in words of foreign origin. The letter *hāṭēp* *pāṭah* is used – besides the Turkic word *arkamdan* ‘behind me’ – in the word *h^la³ṭide²n* = *haliden* ‘from now on’ (derived from Arabic), whereas *šawā* is only used in the names of the angels to signify a vowel, i.e. in words that originated from Hebrew.

Consonants

As for the consonants, no diacritical mark appears in the manuscript above the letters *bēṭ* (*b*), *gīmel* (*g*), or *pēh* (*p*).⁴ The letter *d* is written with a *dāleṭ* (*d*), *l* with a *lāmed* (*l*), *m* with a *mēm* (*m*), *n* with a *nūn* (*n*) and *r* with a *rēš* (*r*). The Hebrew allographs of *mēm*, *nūn* and *kaṭ* in word-final position are marked. Only the letter *ṭēṭ* (*t*) is used for the consonant *t*.⁵ In the names of the angels, *ālep* occurs in medial position, which is transliterated/transcribed as ‘. Consonant clusters are identified with a *šawā*.

Both the letters *hē* and *hēṭ* are in evidence. The letter *hē* (*h*^l) is contained in the reference word *h^la²* = *ha* ‘Lord’ and in the word *h^la³ṭide²n* = *haliden* ‘from now’, whereas the letter *hēṭ* (*h*²) is used in the words *cih^{2y}is^{ly}imn^yi* = *cīχīsīmni* ‘my leaving (ACC)’ and *ma^lh²t^la²b^lludur* = *maḥṭawludur* ‘he is glorious’.

Both *kaṭ* and *qōp* are found in the manuscript. With the exception of *k^{ly}e^lrt^{ly}i* = *kerti* ‘true’, the letter *kaṭ* (*k*^l) is only used in Hebrew words, such as *ma²la²k^l* = *malak* ‘angel’, *m^yik^la²e²l* = *mika’el* ‘Michael’ and *s²a²k^{ly}ina²s^{ly}i* = *šakinasī* ‘presence of’. The letter *qōp* (*k*²) can be observed in words with either front or back vowels both in initial and medial position, e.g. *k²e²ṭib^{ly}imn^yi* *t^{ly}ir^{ly}ik²e^l* = *keliwimni tirlikke* ‘my arrival into life’ and *b^lolus^lk²a²y^l* = *boluskay* ‘may he help’.⁶

Besides the generally used *sāmek* (*s*^l) *šin*/*šin* – without the distinctive dot above – (*s*²) also occurs most probably to signify different types of *s* sounds. The letter *šin*/*šin*

³ Cf. the writing of the vowels *o* and *u* in the Halich Karaim biblical texts, where the Hebrew letters *hōlem* and *qibbūš* typically occur as well (Olach 2012: 49).

⁴ Cf. the manuscript for the Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 34–35) and the private letters written in the Lutsk sub-variety of Karaim (Németh 2011b: 104–105).

⁵ Cf. the Halich Karaim biblical texts, where the letter *tāw* occurs as well (Olach 2012: 55).

⁶ Consider Németh’s suggestion about the role of *qōp* in signifying non-palatalised /k/ (2011b: 103–104).

is found in the words $s^2\acute{a}k^{ly}ina^2s^{ly}i = \acute{s}akinas\ddot{i}$ ‘presence of’ and $^{y}is^2t^{ly}in(e) = i\acute{s}tin(e)$ ‘on’.⁷

Both single and double $y\acute{o}d$ can be observed as signifying the consonant y ; e.g. $y^1a^2n^{y}imda^1n = yan\ddot{i}mdan$ ‘from my side’ and $s^1a^2k^2la^1g^1a^1y^1 = saklagay$ ‘may he protect’ contain a single $y\acute{o}d$ (y^1), while $y^2a^2ma^2nda^2n = yamandan$ ‘from evil’ and $duny^2a^2g^1a^1de^2y^2in = dunyayadeyin$ ‘forever’ consists of a double $y\acute{o}d$ (y^2).

The consonant c in the manuscript is written with the letter $\acute{s}\ddot{a}d\acute{e}h$ (c), e.g. $cih^{2y}is^{ly}imn^{y}i = c\ddot{i}\chi\ddot{i}s\ddot{i}mn\ddot{i}$ ‘my leaving (ACC)’. The letter $\acute{s}\ddot{a}d\acute{e}h$ is used together with a subscripted $z\acute{a}yin$ (c^z) to signify the consonant dz : $c^za^2n^{y}imn^{y}i = dzan\ddot{i}mn\ddot{i}$ ‘my soul (ACC)’.⁸

3. Classification of the text

In the following, I study the phonetic, morphological and lexical characteristics of the prayer. A description of these features will make it possible to define the variety of Karaim in which the text (PR2) is written.

Phonetic properties

The Karaim varieties differ phonetically from each other in a significant way (see e.g. Pritsak 1959, Musaev 1964). Among the phonetic differences, the text represents the change $\ddot{u} > i$. The original vowel \ddot{u} is preserved in North-Western Karaim (see, for instance, the postposition $\ddot{u}\acute{s}tiunia$ ‘on’ in the third line of the North-Western Karaim evening prayer in Appendix 1). The change from \ddot{u} to i takes place in South-Western Karaim; for example, $i\acute{s}tine$ ‘on’ occurs in the Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 282), and $i\acute{s}tine$ ‘on’ can be observed in the Lutsk Karaim private letters (Németh 2011b: 178).⁹ The main difference between the South-Western Karaim forms is found in writing. In the Halich Karaim biblical texts, the postposition is written with the letter $\acute{s}\hat{n}/\acute{s}\hat{i}n$ (Olach 2012: 54), while it contains a $\acute{s}\acute{a}mek$ in the Lutsk Karaim manuscripts (Németh 2011b: 386, 394). In this manuscript, the postposition consists of the letter $\acute{s}\hat{n}/\acute{s}\hat{i}n$.

Another phonetic difference represented in the manuscript is the consonant change $\acute{s} > s$. The original consonant \acute{s} is maintained in the North-Western variety of Karaim, for example the noun $ba\acute{s}$ ‘head’, which is written with a $\acute{s}\hat{n}$ (see $ba\acute{s}yja$ ‘to your head’ in Proverbs 1: 9 in Firkovičius 2000: 98).¹⁰ In the South-Western varieties, the consonant \acute{s} is replaced by the consonant s , for example $basi$ ‘its head’ in the

⁷ Unlike other manuscripts, such as the Halich Karaim Bible (Olach 2012: 216), the word $\acute{s}akina$ ‘presence of’ is not written with a word-final $h\acute{e}$.

⁸ The same letter combination to signify the consonant dz is attested in the Halich Karaim Bible as well (Olach 2012: 53).

⁹ The transcription of the examples taken from the Halich Karaim biblical texts and the Lutsk Karaim private letters follows the original used by Olach and Németh.

¹⁰ The transcription of the North-Western Karaim examples follows the original used by Firkovičius.

Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 294) and *bas japmak* ‘covering of the head’ in the Lutsk Karaim private letters (Németh 2011b: 245). In the case of the consonant *s*, there is no difference between the South-Western varieties with regard to the Hebrew letter they use. The word *bas* ‘head’ generally occurs with a *šamek* both in the Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 294) and the Lutsk Karaim private letters (Németh 2011b: 383). In this manuscript, the noun is written with a *šamek* (*basim* ‘my head’); i.e. the consonant change *š* > *s* can be observed.

So far we have observed phonetic features characteristic of South-Western varieties of Karaim. The last and probably the most important property of manuscript P2 for the purposes of classification is found in the expression *kiri tut-* ‘to keep alive’ (KRPS 530). This property makes it easier to define even the sub-variety in which the prayer is likely written. In descriptions by grammarians, the changes /t/ > /x/ and /d/ > /b/ before the *i* are considered a Halich Karaim feature (Dubiniński 1978: 40–41; Grzegorzewski 1903: 78; Pritsak 1959: 329).¹¹ This phenomenon has recently been discussed by Németh, who says that this characteristic is typical of the Halich sub-variety of South-Western Karaim due to the influence of the local Ukrainian dialect. This feature distinguishes the Lutsk sub-variety from the Halich one (2011a: 83–85). However, due to the influence of the Halich variety, the Lutsk sub-variety might represent this phenomenon as well, e.g. *k’iril-* ‘to live’ in private letter No. 8 (Németh 2011b: 163).

Morphological properties

Morphologically, the dative form of the first and second person singular pronouns represents a distinctive feature among Karaim varieties. In the North-Western variety, the first person singular dative pronoun is *maya* (see Proverbs 1: 28 (Firkovičius 2000: 2, 99)). The pronoun *maya*, however, does not form part of the North-Western Karaim evening prayer. The dative form of the personal pronoun ‘I’ in the South-Western Karaim varieties is *mana* (see Olach 2012: 255 and Németh 2011b: 387). In this manuscript, the form *mana* can be observed.

The optative marker used in the North-Western variety differs from that used in the South-Western varieties of Karaim. Due to the change *ay* > *ey* in North-Western Karaim, the optative marker only features forms with front vowels, i.e. the forms *-gey/-key*, in that variety (Pritsak 1959: 337, Musaev 1964: 286–287). The optative form does not occur in the North-Western Karaim version of the evening prayer, but it can be found in the North-Western Karaim translation of the Book of Job, e.g. Job 38: 34 *kaplayeñlar* ‘may they cover’ and Job 38: 35 *baryeñlar* ‘may they go’ (Kowalski 1929: 34).¹² The suffix contains back vowels in the South-Western

¹¹ Cf. *kiri bolsyjdı* ‘if she had been alive’ and *tiri dzanlar* ‘living souls’ in the text Elim (jomaq) (Grzegorzewski 1903: 69), Gen. 10/11 *tiri edi* ‘lived’ (Olach 2012: 263) and also the item *tiri* ‘живой, одушевлённый’ in KRPS 529.

¹² The transcription of the examples quoted from Kowalski 1929 is identical with Kowalski’s transcription.

varieties, e.g. *arttirgay* ‘may he increase’ and *artkayšiz* ‘may you grow’ in the Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 339) and *cykkajbiz* ‘let us go out’ and *unu[t]mahajšiz* ‘may you not forget’ in the Lutsk Karaim private letters (Németh 2011b: 153, 173). In the manuscript (PR2), the back-vowel forms of the optative marker can be observed, e.g. *saklagay* ‘may he protect’ and *boluskay* ‘may he help’.

Lexical properties

The prayer investigated in this paper is rather short; therefore, the lexicon of the text shows no particular features of any Karaim variety. The word form *malak* ‘angel’, however, rules out the Eastern Karaim variety, where the form *melek* is known (KRPS 402, KRPS 415).

The word *hali* ‘now’ with the voiced velar fricative *h*, according to KRPS (599), is only attested in the Halich variety of Karaim. Although the Karaim-Russian-Polish Dictionary does not divide South-Western Karaim into sub-varieties, we know from Németh’s work that the Lutsk sub-variety also contains the form *hali* ‘now’ (e.g. in 2011b: 154). In North-Western Karaim, the form *γale* is recorded (KRPS 163), whereas Eastern Karaim uses the forms *γali* and *heli* (KRPS 163, KRPS 608).

The lexical item *maɣtawlu* ‘glorious’ is marked as a North-Western Karaim item in KRPS (405). The root of this word is *maɣta-* ‘to praise, glorify’, which can be found in all Karaim varieties. The form with the suffix *-w*, i.e. *maɣtaw* ‘praise, glory’, is used in the Western varieties. Although the South-Western Karaim dictionaries (KRUES and KSB) do not mention the form *maɣtawlu* ‘glorious’, there is no reason to reject the assumption that it could be part of the South-Western Karaim lexicon as well. At least the *+lu* allomorph of the suffix *+lX*, which forms adjectives from nominal stems, also occurs in South-Western Karaim; for instance, *us* (thk) ‘mind, intellect’ > (thk) *uslu* ‘clever’ (KRPS 582) and *zulum* (t) ‘offense, injustice’ > *zulumlu* (h) ‘oppressed’ (KRPS 189–190).¹³

Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that the linguistic properties of manuscript PR2 suggest a text written in the South-Western variety of Karaim. Furthermore, certain features, such as the written form of the postposition *istine* ‘on’ and the verb form *kiri tut-* ‘to keep alive’, prompt one to classify the language of PR2 as Halich Karaim.

¹³ Consider that the case of *zulum* and *zulumlu* is exactly the opposite as it is with *maɣtaw* and *maɣtawlu*. The adjective form *zulumlu* in KRPS is regarded as only being used in South-Western Karaim, while the stem *zulum* is marked as a North-Western Karaim element. On the use of the adjective marker, see Zajęczkowski 1932: 31–32; Musaev 1964: 172–174.

4. Comparison of the South-Western Karaim version of the prayer with the North-Western Karaim version

The prayer in manuscript PR2 differs from that published by Firkovičius in 1993 in several respects. First of all, as of the second sentence the text differs completely in the two versions. Therefore, it is only possible to carry out a rather limited comparison. In the first sentence, the ordering of the angels is at variance in the two Karaim prayers. The lexicon shows differences as well; i.e. different expressions are used in the two versions. Finally, a special expression in manuscript PR2 (*ha saklagay cixsimni da keliwimni tirlikke*) will be discussed.

The archangels

Although angels and archangels play an important role in Jewish culture, they were not mentioned by name in the Torah. However, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel are well-known from the Hebrew Bible. Initially, Raphael was accepted by the Jewish canon, but then he was removed in late antiquity. In post-biblical Jewish literature, Phanuel, one of the Angels of Presence, occurs first and is later replaced by Uriel in rabbinic literature (Goldstein 1988: 26).

One of the main tasks of the angels is to convey the prayers of human beings (Goldstein 1988: 27). This is probably the reason why the archangels are mentioned by name in the Karaim prayers. As for the orientation of the angels, there is a difference between the two versions. In the South-Western Karaim version, the order is the following: Michael is on the right, Gabriel is on the left, Rafael can be found in the front, and we envisage Uriel behind the praying person. The order of Raphael and Uriel is exactly the opposite in the North-Western Karaim version. Whether this difference has any significance or not requires further investigation.

Lexical differences

The South-Western Karaim version uses the Hebrew word *šakina* ‘the presence (of God)’ in the first sentence. This word is not included in KRPS but occurs in the Halich Karaim biblical texts (Olach 2012: 216) as well as in the North-Western Karaim translation of Psalm 91 (Csató 2011: 5).¹⁴ In the same position, the word of Arabic origin *alhem* ‘soul’ is found in the North-Western Karaim version.

At the centre of the South-Western Karaim prayer we find the praying person himself, who asks God to protect him. The verb forms in this version are in the third person singular. In the North-Western Karaim version, however, the praying person turns the focus point from himself to external people, such as sinners, the godless and also the poor. This version uses the verbs in the second person singular in addressing God.

¹⁴ Csató transcribes the word as *škina* and translates it as ‘glory’ in her article (2011: 5).

The concept of the departing soul

The second part of the prayer in manuscript PR2 offers an interesting expression: *ha sakla:gay ciḡis:im:nī da keliw:im:nī tirlik:ke* [Lord protect:OPT3SG leaving:POSS1SG:ACC and arrival:POSS1SG:ACC life:DAT] ‘May the Lord protect my leaving and arriving into life’.

This expression opens the door to an interesting interpretation. According to Talmudic rabbis, the soul which God breathed into the body of Adam can be separated from the body and leaves it during sleep for spiritual refreshment (EJ 31).¹⁵ A good example of this concept can be found in a Talmudic prayer in Hebrew in Volume IV of the Karaite Vilna Siddur (1892: 74) which, according to Lasker, represents a rabbinic influence attested in the North-Western Karaim community (2004: 189).¹⁶

The same idea occurs in Islam as well (see the following verse: 39: 43 ‘Allah takes charge of souls at the time of death, and of those not yet dead during their sleep’ (Khan 1991: 461). According to the Quran commentaries, this means that God takes man’s soul while he is asleep and acquires knowledge of all that man did during the day, after which God wakes man up (Quṭb 2007: 317).

It seems that the concept of the soul departing during sleep is well-known and accepted in Judaism and Islam. It is possible then to presume that, as with the North-Western Karaim community, the concept was not unknown among the South-Western Karaims. Therefore, we may interpret the Karaim expression as ‘May the Lord protect my departure from and my arrival into life’, i.e. the departure and the arrival of my soul while I am asleep.

Conclusion

Based on the phonetic, morphological and lexical properties of the manuscript, it is clear that the text should be classified as a South-Western Karaim text. If one takes into consideration the written form of the postposition ‘on’ with the Hebrew letter *śîn/šîn* and the phonetic feature attested in *kiri tut-* ‘keep alive’, it can be concluded that the language of the prayer in manuscript PR2 is Halich Karaim.

The prayer provides new or previously unrecorded lexical items. The word *šəkina* ‘presence (of God)’, which occurs in both the North-Western and South-Western Karaim texts, is part of KRUES but not of KSB and KRPS. The word *maḡtawlu* ‘glorious’, on the other hand, is not recorded as a South-Western Karaim item in KRPS. It is identified in the dictionary as a North-Western Karaim lexical item.

¹⁵ The dualistic pluralism, i.e. the dual characteristic of the human soul, is a well-known idea among a number of Finno-Ugric and Siberian peoples. The ‘free spirit’ leaves the body while we are sleeping, whereas the ‘life spirit’ leaves only when we die (Diószegi 1967: 23–28).

¹⁶ I thank Riikka Tuori (University of Helsinki) for calling my attention to Lasker’s article and for assisting me with the Hebrew text.

Maḡtawlu ‘glorious’, however, is used in the manuscript written in South-Western Karaim.

Finally, the manuscript bears witness to the interesting notion of the soul departing during sleep, which is well-known in rabbinic and Islamic culture and, apparently, in the culture of the Karaims as well.

Abbreviations

Languages and sources

- h* Abbreviation used in KRPS meaning that an item is attested in Halich Karaim sources
- hk* Abbreviation used in KRPS meaning that an item is attested in Halich Karaim and Crimean Karaim sources
- t* Abbreviation used in KRPS meaning that an item is attested in Trakai Karaim sources
- th* Abbreviation used in KRPS meaning that an item is attested in Trakai Karaim and Halich Karaim sources
- thk* Abbreviation used in KRPS meaning that an item is attested in Trakai Karaim, Halich Karaim and Crimean Karaim sources.
- EJ Berenbaum, Michael & Skolnik, Fred. (eds.) 2007². *Encyclopedia Judaica* Vol. 4. Detroit: Macmillan Reference.
- KRPS Baskakov, Nikolaj A. & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Szapszal, Seraja M. 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.
- KRUES Mireyev, Vadim A. & Abrahamowicz, Natalija D. 2008. *The Language of Western Ukrainian Karaites 2. Karaite-Russian-Ukrainian-English Dictionary*. Simferopol-Polevskoy-Slip-perry Rock: International Institute of Crimean Karaites.
- KSB Mardkowicz, Aleksander 1935. *Karaj sez-bitigi*. Łuck.

Glosses of Karaim examples

- | | |
|---------|---------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ABL | ablative |
| ACC | accusative |
| COP | copula |
| DAT | dative |
| GEN | genitive |
| OPT | optative |
| POSS | possessive |
| POSTPOS | postposition |
| SG | singular |

Appendix 1

The North-Western Karaim prayer (Firkovičius 1993: 16)

1. *On janymdan malach Michael, son janymdan*
2. *Gavriel, alnymdan Uriel, artymdan Refael, da ba-*
3. *šym ūštiunia alhiemi Tieñriniñ kajjam Tieñriniñ.*
4. *Ottan suvdan kutcharchyn, šiertiñ Avrahamnyn*
5. *sahynhyn, avzun avančynyn biekliagiñ, öktiamli-*
6. *giñ tanuvčunyn syndyrhyn. Hadirliagiñ jemiñ*
7. *miškinniñ.*
8. *Sieñdiañdir Bijim jemi bar tienniñ.*
9. *Amieñ.*

1. On my right there is the Angel Michael. On my left
2. there is Gabriel, in front of me Uriel, behind me Raphael and
3. on my head there is the soul of God, of everlasting God.
4. Save me from fire and water, remember
5. the covenant of Abraham, shut the mouth of the sinner,
6. break the pride of the godless. Prepare the food
7. of the poor.
8. The food of every man is from you, my Lord.
9. Amen.

Appendix 2

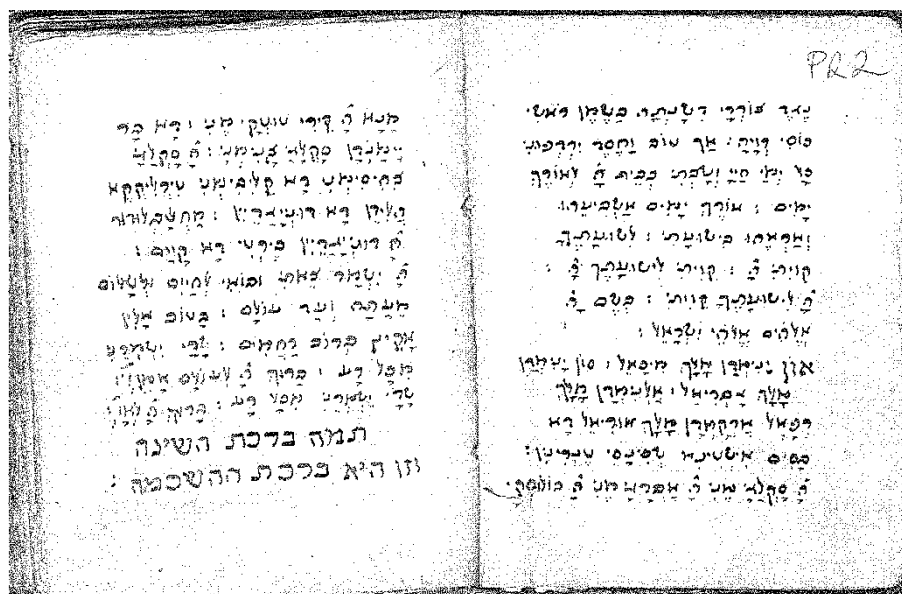
The South-Western Karaim prayer

1. on y¹a¹n^yimda¹n ma²la²k¹ m^yik¹a²e²l : s'on y¹a²n^yimda¹n
2. ma²la²k¹ g¹a²b¹r^yi²e²l, a³ln^yimda²n ma²la²k¹
3. a³rk²a²mda²n ma²la²k¹ ur^yi²e²l d^aa²
4. b¹a²s¹yim^yis²t¹yin(e) s²ak¹yina²s¹y i t¹e¹nr^yin^yin :
5. h¹a² s¹a²k¹la¹g¹a²y¹ me¹n^yi h¹a² a²b¹ra²g¹a²y¹ me¹n^yi h¹a² b¹olus¹k²a²y¹
6. ma²n^aa² h¹a² k²yir^yi t¹ut¹k²a²y¹ me¹n^yi, d^aa² b¹a²r
7. y²a²ma²nda²n s¹a²k²la²g¹a¹y¹ c²a²n^yimn^yi h¹a² s¹a²k²la¹g¹a¹y¹
8. cih²yis¹yimn^yi d^aa² k²e²yib¹yimn^yi t¹irl^yik²k²e¹
9. h¹a³yide²n d^aa² duny²a²g¹a¹de²y²in ma¹h²t¹a²b¹ludur
10. h¹a² duny²a²g¹a¹de²y²in k¹y¹e¹rt¹y i d^aa² k²a²y²a¹m

1. *on yanımdan malak mika'el : son yanımdan*
2. *malak gabri'el, alnımdan malak*
3. *rəfa'el arkamdan malak uri'el da*
4. *basım ıstıne şəkinası tenrinin :*
5. *ha saklagay meni ha abragay meni ha boluskay*

6. *mana ha kiri tutkay meni da bar*
7. *yamandan saklagay dzanimni ha saklagay*
8. *cixisimni da keliwimni tirlikke*
9. *haliden da dunyayadeyin maxtawludur*
10. *ha dunyayadeyin kerti da kayam*

1. On my right there is the Angel Michael. On my left
2. there is Angel Gabriel, in front of me there is the Angel
3. Raphael and behind me the Angel Uriel and
4. on my head there is the presence of God.
5. May the Lord protect me. May the Lord save me. May the Lord help
6. me. May the Lord keep me alive and from all
7. bad things may he protect my soul. May the Lord protect
8. my leaving and arriving into life
9. from now and forever. Glorious is
10. the Lord, true and strong forever.



Appendix 3

Glossary

abra- (KRPS 38) *thk* ‘to keep, protect, preserve’
alīn (KRPS 66) *th* ‘front, forepart’
arka (KRPS 73) *th* ‘back, back part’
bar (KRPS 102) *thk* ‘all’
bas (KRPS 104) *h* ‘head’
bolus- (KRPS 129) *h* ‘to help’
cīχīs (KRUES) ‘going out, leaving’
dunya (KRPS 181) *th* ‘world’; *dunyayadeyin* ‘till the end of the world, forever’
dzan (KRPS 175) *h* ‘soul’
gabriel ‘Gabriel’
ha ‘LORD’
hali (KRPS 163) *hk* ‘now’; *haliden* (KRUES) ‘henceforth, henceforward, from now on’
ist (KRPS 208) *h* ‘surface, top, top part’
yaman (KRPS 224) *thk* ‘harm, bad’
yan (KRPS 225) *thk* ‘side’
kayam (KRPS 282) *th* ‘mighty, eternal’
keliw (KRPS 301) *h* ‘arrival’
kerti (KRPS 307) *th* ‘truth, true’
kiri (KRPS 322) *h* ‘alive’; *tiri tut-* (KRPS 530) > *kiri tut-* ‘to keep alive’
malak (KRPS 402) *th* ‘angel’
maχtawlu (KRPS 405) *t* ‘glorious’; *maχtaw* (KRPS 405) *th* ‘praise, glory’
men (KRPS 415) *hk* ‘I’; *meni* ‘me (ACC)’; *mana* ‘to me’
mika’el ‘Michael’
on (KRPS 428) *thk* ‘right’
rəfa’el ‘Raphael’
sakla- (KRPS 461) *th* ‘to protect, preserve, keep’
šəkina (KRUES) ‘the presence of God’
son (KRPS 478) *thk* ‘left’
tenri (KRPS 564) *h* ‘God’
tirlik (KRPS 530) *thk* ‘life’
uri’el ‘Uriel’

Appendix 4

Morphological index

<i>abra:gay</i>	<i>abra:OPT3SG</i>
<i>aln:im:dan</i>	<i>alīn:POSS1SG:ABL</i>
<i>arka:m:dan</i>	<i>arka:POSS1SG:ABL</i>
<i>bas:im</i>	<i>bas:POSS1SG</i>
<i>bolus:kay</i>	<i>bolus:OPT3SG</i>

<i>cīχīs:im:nī</i>	cīχīs:POSS1SG:ACC
<i>dunya:γa:deyin</i>	dunya:DAT:POSTPOS.deyin
<i>dzan:im:nī</i>	dzan:POSS1SG:ACC
<i>hali:den</i>	hali:ABL
<i>īšt:i:n:e</i>	īšt:POSS3SG:PRONOM.n:DAT
<i>yaman:dan</i>	yaman:ABL
<i>yan:im:dan</i>	yan:POSS1SG:ABL
<i>keliw:im:ni</i>	keliw:POSS1SG:ACC
<i>kiri tut:kay</i>	kiri tut:OPT3SG
<i>mana</i>	men:DAT
<i>maχtawlu:dur</i>	maχtawlu:COP3SG
<i>meni</i>	men:ACC
<i>sakla:gay</i>	sakla:OPT3SG
<i>šəkina:sī</i>	šəkina:POSS3SG
<i>tenri:nin</i>	tenri:GEN
<i>tirlik:ke</i>	tirlik:DAT

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